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FROM

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S P E E C H

OF

ON. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM,

AT

Dayton, Saturday Evening, August 2, 1862.

DAYTON:

FROM THE PRESS OF THE DAYTON EMPIRE.

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S P E E C H .

A vast concourse of the citizens of Montgomery county having assembled at the south side of the Court House in Dayton, Mr. VALLANDIGHAM addressed them at length upon the state of the country. We present the following report of his speech, parts of it in full, and others condensed.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM began by an allusion to the fact that he had arranged to be absent from the city on a visit to an aged and very near relative, but that meantime false charges, and rumors also as to intended arrests were started. My rule, said he, is to always meet such things a little more than half way. Conscious of rectitude, I mean, face to face with every foe and every danger, to do all and bear all that may become a man; and therefore, at much inconvenience, I have postponed my visit, and am here to-night surrounded by thousands of such constituents and friends as no man ever had.

He then referred to the Spring election and its result in this city, upon a direct issue against himself, presented to and accepted by his friends—the triumphant election of the whole Democratic city ticket; and observed that the lesson to our enemies was a severe one, and that they ought to learn from it that there was such a thing as abusing a man so persistently, wantonly and wickedly, as to make him immensely popular.

Mr. V. next gave a full and minute narrative of the infamous conspiracy just exploded, to procure his arrest as "implicated" with two clergymen from the "Border States," who had been guests at his house. Nothing had been found: both of them were promptly released, and the whole plot had failed. But those concerned in it, some of them "Christians," were known and would be remembered. A telegraphic dispatch had been prepared by one of the conspirators, and sent off to the New York *Tribune* from Dayton, though dated at Columbus, announcing his (Mr. V.'s) "arrest;" and it had never been contradicted to this day.—

Democrats, said he, have never received any justice at the hands of the telegraph, and never will till after the 4th of March, 1865, when, with everything else, it will be in Democratic hands. The Republican party are teaching us many things, and may find us apt scholars, possibly improving on their lessons if they shall finally succeed in overthrowing all constitution, law and order. But I trust that it will never come to this.

I am for obedience to all laws and constitutions. No man can be a good democrat who is not in favor of law and order. No matter how distasteful constitutions and laws may be, they must be obeyed. I am opposed to all mobs, and opposed also—inexorably opposed above every thing, to all violations of constitution and law by men in authority—public servants. The danger from usurpations and violations by them is fifty fold greater than from any other quarter, because these violations and usurpations come clothed with the false semblance of authority. Those parts of our constitutions and laws which command or restrain the people must be obeyed; but still more must those also which limit and restrain public servants, from the President down. There are rights of the people to secure which constitutions were ordained, and they must and will be exacted at all hazards; and among the most sacred of these rights, are free speech, a free press, public assemblies, political liberty, and above all, or at least at the foundation of all, PERSONAL LIBERTY, or freedom from illegal and arbitrary arrests. It was a right secured in Greece while she was free, and in Rome in her prur days. But it is peculiarly an Anglo-Saxon right; and it has cost more struggles in England to hold it fast than any other. The right is declared in the strongest language in the GREAT CHARTER in the time of King John, six hundred years ago. Here is the pledge wrung from the tyrant by men none of whom could read or write, but who were resolved to be free:

"No freeman shall be arrested, or imprisoned, or

disseised (of property), or outlawed, or banished, or any ways injured, nor will we pass sentence upon him, nor send trial upon him, UNLESS BY THE LEGAL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND."

This is the "keystone of English liberty;" the pride and boast of every Englishman.—The violation of it cost one English monarch his head, another his crown, and a third his most valuable colonies; and to-day if Queen Victoria were to attempt to suspend it by telegraph, or by executive order, or order of privy council in any way, she would be a refugee in a foreign land before a fortnight.

Eighty years later this sacred and invaluable right to be free from arrest except by law, was confirmed; and in 1627, by the celebrated Petition of Right, drawn up by that great lawyer, Lord Coke, was again confirmed and extended, as follows:

"No man, of what estate or condition that he be, shall be put out of his land, or tenements, nor arrested, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer BY DUE PROCESS OF LAW."

And it was further provided that no commissioners should be appointed to try any one by "martial law," who was not in the army, "lest by color of them, any of his Majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land."

Next came the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, to secure the rights asserted by the Great Charter and its confirmations; a statute by virtue of which, says Lord Campbell,—and with shame I confess now to the justice of the proud boast—"personal liberty has been more effectually guarded in England than it has in any country in the world."

Next after this came the Bill of Rights of 1689, enacted by the profoundest statesmen and purest patriots which England ever had. These great and good men after that, by arms, they had driven James II from the throne, for his repeated violations of the rights of Englishmen, declared that he had been guilty of an attempt to subvert the laws and liberties of the kingdom, among other things:

"1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

"2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

"7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

"All which," say they, "are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm."

These, sir, are the "Liberties of Englishmen." They are the Liberties which were brought over by our ancestors from England, and embodied in all our constitutions and laws. In 1641, twenty years after the first

settlement of Massachusetts, that infant colony declared in her "Body of Liberties," that

"No man's life shall be taken away, no man's honor or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any way endamaged, under color of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, &c.

"No man's person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient security, bail or mainprize, &c."

So also in the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, among the many grievances set forth against the King, are the following:

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses."

In the Virginia "Bill of Rights" of 1776, written also by Jefferson, it is declared that—

"All power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

"All power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

"In all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

"Freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments."

And yet again; in the "Declaration of Rights" of Massachusetts, in 1780, it is laid down that—

"No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense, until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally described to him. And no person shall be arrested, imprisoned, or despoiled or deprived of his property, immunities or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled or deprived of his life, liberty or estate, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

"Every person has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his houses, his papers and all his possessions.

"The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State.

"The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defense. The military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority and be governed by it.

"The people have a right in an orderly and peaceable manner to assemble to consult upon the common good.

"The power of suspending the laws ought never to be exercised but by the Legislature, or by authority derived from it, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the Legislature shall expressly provide for.

"No person can, in any case, be subjected to law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service) but by authority of the Legislature."

Such were the liberties of Americans in the Revolutionary period of our history, and before it; and they have been embodied in all our constitutions ever since.

Let the present Constitution of Ohio speak. In our "Bill of Rights" we declare that

right and mean to exercise it still, of judging for myself of the true and proper mode. I think mine would have prevented it at first, and even after it began, would have ended it long since. It must, it will be tried at last, if ever any thing is to be accomplished. But I have had no power to try it. They who have the power have determined upon another way—with what success, judge ye—and like a good citizen, I resist not, but stand by to see the result of the experiment. If it is successful in maintaining the Constitution and restoring the Union, I will make full, open, explicit confession that I was wrong, utterly, totally wrong; and will retire to private life the residue of my days. But if it fail—let the people judge then between me and my accusers.

I repeat it: I am for suppressing all rebellion—both rebellions. There are two—the Secession Rebellion South, and the Abolition Rebellion North and West. I am against both; for putting down both. Since you have resolved that there shall be war, I commit the armed Rebellion South, to the soldiers of the Army, three-fourths of them Democrats, young Democrats. I commit it to Halleck, and Buell, and Burnside, and others; and to that abused, persecuted, outraged general and patriot, George B. McClellan. (Great cheering.) If he can not do it, it is because in the nature of things, it is not possible that it be done in that way. The plan proposed by him was the only one which even so much as promised success. And it implied a restoration of the Union as it was, and, meantime, the maintenance of the Constitution as it is. That is the reason why he has been so persecuted by abolition rebels and disunionists.—But it is the proud boast of himself and his friends, that he has never violated a single provision of that instrument, though commander-in-chief for many months. All our victories were the result of his policy: all our reverses followed his supercession. From that hour to this there has been no victory. Defeat has not lost him the confidence of the people. He has the devoted and enthusiastic affection of his soldiers; and he has the calmness, the firmness and the unshaken consistency and persistency of purpose which will enable him to triumph in the end, at least over his enemies at home. To him, therefore and to the army, I commit the Secession Rebellion of the South. I waste no breath in idle denunciation of an enemy a thousand miles off. Cursing will not put down men in arms, else there would have been an end to this armed rebellion long ago. As Governor Richardson suggested in Congress, the Jericho of Secession is not to be thrown down by the

blowing of Abolition horns. Whoever among the Abolitionists would curse Secession, let him enlist, and then he will show his faith by his works, and your armies will be full in a week. Let every man who would invite others to go, first go himself. I have never interfered with enlistments. While the war lasts, our armies, for many reasons, must not be disbanded; so I said in Congress more than a year ago. Without enlistments they cannot be kept up; and if any man subject to military duty really thinks that the Union can be restored by force and arms, and only in that way, let him enlist: it is his duty to enlist he is 'disloyal' if he does not enlist. (Cries of good, good; that's the talk.) Whoever shall be drafted, should a draft be ordered according to Constitution and law, is in duty bound, no matter what he thinks of the war to either go, or find a substitute, or pay the fine which the law imposes. He has no right to resist; and none to run away.

I have said that in my deliberate and solemn judgment war cannot restore the Union but, if continued long enough, must destroy it and it may be our own liberties also. "War," said Douglas, "is disunion; war is final, eternal separation." The Administration do not seem to think so. The country just now does not think so. Mr. Lincoln says that war is the right way to restore the Union. I think there is another, a better, the only way to do it. He has the power to try his. I have not. War is upon us; and from the beginning, believing as I did and yet powerless for good, I laid down the rule for myself, and have faithfully adhered to it, and will to the end, neither to vote for or against any purely war measure of the Administration. Wherever I have voted upon any question, my course has been governed by other considerations than those having reference to my opinions on the war. Accordingly I have not voted for any Army bill, or Navy bill, or Army or Navy appropriation bill, since the meeting of Congress on the Fourth of July, 1861. Neither have I voted against any such bill from the beginning. I appeal to the *Globe* and to the Journals of the House, for the proof. These facts I refer to because you are my constituents, and have a right to know them. One thing, however, we all must demand of the Administration; that the war be conducted according to the Constitution and for a Constitutional purpose.

But, Men of Dayton, there is another and different, yet most desperate rebellion to be dealt with—the ABOLITION REBELLION of the North and West. It, too, must be put down; speedily and firmly put down, if we would save the country. In my judgment you will never

suppress the armed Secession Rebellion, till you have crushed under foot the pestilent Abolition Rebellion first. Ask the officers and soldiers of the army, and they will tell you the same thing. A Representative and exempt therefore, from military service, I believe it my duty to stay at home and fight the Abolition rebels of the North and West. In the exercise of my constitutional rights which cannot and shall not be taken away, I propose to do my part towards putting down this, the earliest and most desperate and malignant rebellion. It must be met by reason and appeals to the people through the press and in public assemblages, and be put down at the ballot box. But if the overt rebellions in Wisconsin and in Ohio at Urbana in 1857, and Cleveland in 1859, the one at Urbana an armed rebellion, had been promptly and severely punished as they ought to have been, we never would have had any other.

Here Mr. V. traced briefly the history of the slavery question from the beginning to the present day. In 1787 it had been settled by the compromises of the Constitution, and all had been peace, quiet and prosperity till the terrible "Missouri Question," which struck upon the ear of Jefferson "like a fire bell in the night." That had been settled by compromise, and we had quiet and peace again for fifteen years till the systematic and organized anti-slavery agitation began in 1835, at which time it was so bitterly denounced by President Jackson. But it continued gaining strength every year till it ended as every wise man foresaw it must end, in an "unnecessary and injurious CIVIL WAR." Fifteen years ago there were Secession disunionists South just as there were Abolition disunionists in the North and West. The former were in public places, State and Federal; but as soon as they proclaimed their disunion proclivities, or were even suspected of it, they were speedily ejected from office even in South Carolina. In 1851 every Southern State without exception, carried the Union ticket upon a direct issue; and for years no disunionist in the South could be elected to any office. How was it meantime in the North and West? From absolute odium and weakness, abolitionism steadily increased in position and power, till the Senate began to be filled with Abolitionists, open or in disguise, and the House of Representatives also; and till every free State in every branch of its government, fell into the hands of active and aggressive anti-slavery men; and finally, a President was elected by a sectional anti-slavery party, on a sectional anti-slavery platform, who himself declared that this Union could not endure "part slave and part free."

And yet at the South, even after secession began, it was with difficulty that any State was induced to secede, except South Carolina. In every other cotton State there was a large minority against secession; and up to April 15th, 1861, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas refused by large majorities to secede; while Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri adhere to the Union to this day. In the very midst of secession, if any fair and adequate compromise had been proposed by Congress, especially if the "Crittenden propositions" of December 1860, had been adopted, secession would have perished. Mr. Davis and Mr. Toombs both declared that they would be content. That is the statement of Mr. Pugh. It is the testimony of Mr. Douglas also. But those propositions never received a solitary Republican vote in either the Senate or the House. "Hence, the sole responsibility for our disagreement," said Douglas on the third of January, 1861, "and the only difficulty in the way of our amicable adjustment, is with the Republican party."

Sir, these are facts which it is useless to deny and senseless to quarrel with; and they are part of the many circumstances upon which I found my immovable hope of a final restoration of the Union, in spite of the folly and madness and wickedness every day exhibited, uniting the South and dividing the North and West.

The South is now well nigh united as one man; and for nearly three months we have met with little else than defeat. What united the South? What changed the fortune of the war? In the beginning it was declared to be for the Union and the Constitution. These were noble objects, and success attended our arms. Before the battle of Bull Run, Mr. Crittenden sought to offer his now often quoted resolution defining the objects of the war, and the Republicans did not allow it to be even so much as received. It was met with sneers and contempt. The day after the battle, when Washington was full of escaped soldiers, and fugacious congressmen from the battle-field, it was offered again, and without objection. But two men, both Republicans, voted against that part of it. I voted for that part of it, but not for the first, because it did not speak the whole truth; because it did not denounce the Abolition disunionists of the North and West also, and hold them responsible too. Six hundred thousand men were soon afterwards enlisted. The victories of Hatteras, Port Royal, Mill Spring, Donaldson, Roanoke, Winchester, Newbern, Island Ten, New Orleans, Norfolk, and others all followed. Then was the hour for wisdom and sound policy. But no: it was the exact time selected by

Abolitionism for the very Saturnalia of its folly and madness. Every scheme and project of Emancipation, Execution, and Confiscation, Congressional and Executive, of the whole session was pressed forward, and many of them consummated, during this same period of victory. The war was every where to be perverted from the spirit of the "Crittenden Resolution." And with what result? The South, before that time divided, was now united as one man. Even the Border Slave States were shaken to the centre, and thousands of their citizens driven into the Confederate service. The armies of the South were rapidly filled up. A spirit was breathed into each man's breast which made him a host. It was these things, and such infamous orders as Butler's at New Orleans, which inspired their armies, making them invincible—and not overwhelming numbers. Victory everywhere was theirs. McDowell, The Seven Pines, Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys, Port Republic, James Island, Vicksburg, and the Great Seven Days Battle of Richmond, all followed. The men, and the women, too, of the South said, If indiscriminate execution, confiscation and emancipation are to be the rule of the Federal Government, let us perish rather on the battle-field.

This is what Abolitionism has cost us already—an unnecessary and injurious civil war; a united South; a divided North and West; a diminished Federal army; an increased Confederate army; the one dispirited, the other confident; fifteen months of most vigorous war, with the largest army and most numerous navy of modern times; and yet not a single State restored; but a public debt of a thousand millions of dollars incurred, and two hundred and fifty thousand brave men lost to the army, no man knows how. For all this Abolitionism is responsible. Let it answer at the bar of public opinion. Let the people judge. Let the inexorable sentence go forth and just and speedy judgment be executed upon it.

These, Men of Dayton, are my opinions. They are my convictions. And yet for these I am denounced as "disloyal!" What is loyalty? Obedience, faithfulness to law, or, in Norman-French, to Loy; and there is no higher law than the Constitution. Whoever obeys the laws is loyal: whoever breaks them, whether one in authority or a private citizen is disloyal. There is no such thing yet in the United States, thank God, as loyalty to a President, or to any Administration. And yet I have heard of loyalty to Abraham Lincoln; to a man, a public servant whom the people made and can unmake! Whoever talks thus is fit only to be a slave. If these men mean that I am opposed to the Administration and

party in power, and to the doctrines of Abolition, and think them false, let them say so. I am a Democrat, and I mean that I am a Democrat, devoting my principles and policy, and faithful organization of that grand old party made this country what it is, and am as true to the old Constitution and the old Union, though disloyal, and bless God for it. But I mean that I am false to the Constitution true to the Union, or disloyal to the Union of my birth, in thought, or word, or deed, then, in the language of an eloquent orator of Indiana (Mr. Voorhees), "they lie in their teeth, in their throats, and in their hands." (Loud cheers.)

Who is an Abolitionist? Whoever advocates indiscriminate confiscation in order to end slavery, is an Abolitionist. Whoever advocates the emancipation and purchase of the slaves of the Border States, and the transportation of them abroad, but really to support the slave labor of the North and West to compete with our own white labor, is an Abolitionist. Whoever would reduce the Southern States to vassalries in order to strike down slavery by Federal power, is an Abolitionist. Whoever is in favor of arming the slaves, or declaring slavery abolished by executive proclamation, is an Abolitionist. Finally, whoever is for converting the Union, directly or indirectly, into a crusade for the abolition of slavery, is an Abolitionist. The worst sort; and he who votes for the favor of these things, is also an Abolitionist in practice, no matter what his profession or party name may be. Whoever is opposed to these projects and votes accordingly, for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was, is a truly loyal citizen, whether he is a Secession rebel in the field or Abolitionist at the ballot box.

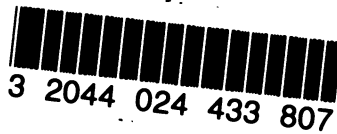
And now, Men of Montgomery, if you think that the rebellion at the South shall be suppressed, that the Confederate armies shall be dissolved, and that the Constitution shall be maintained, the Union restored, and all obeyed, unite with me at the ballot box, and speedily and forever crushing out the rebellious Abolition rebellion in the North and South. Whoever feels it his duty to fight armed at the South, let him enlist at once; let him not buy up a substitute, but go himself. If he ever remains at home, it is his duty to unite with me against Abolition rebels in our ranks. This is loyalty; this is fidelity to the Union. The hour of trial and of vindication will come. The GREAT HEREAFTER is at hand. In six months—I repeat it—in three months, or six weeks it may be—sooner or later, meantime what may, the question will

SEPARATION OR THE UNION THROUGH
 USE. Which will you then choose—
 not yet; for amid arms reason, too,
 but when it does come? Come it will,
 you must choose between the Union
 or fathers made, or hopeless, cheer-
 less and belligerent disunion. I bet
 the Administration will declare for
 it. Then, as now and ever, I shall be
 for Union and against separation. Sir,
 war must be made, and made soon,
 already an enormous debt. A thou-
 sand millions would not pay it. We spend
 millions a day. How long can you stand
 our army of six hundred and thirty-
 thousand last January, has melted
 four hundred thousand; and now
 hundred thousand more volunteers
 landed, and will soon be in the
 at only fifteen months ago, just seven-
 thousand militia were called out, and
 "urgents" officially commanded to dis-
 twenty days! A government paper
 of hundreds of millions is upon us;
 taxation the most onerous and unjust
 ed upon any but a conquered people.
 too, of from forty-one to one hun-
 thirteen per cent., as if to heap up
 measure of the load, is now added.
 the door-way of your farm-house and
 and feel nothing, nothing not taxed,
 hear air you breathe and the bright sun-
 star-light of heaven! And yet you
 pay it to the uttermost farthing. None
 sadman or a traitor will talk of resist-
 repudiation. It was not so in Demo-
 crats. For sixty years that party gov-
 erned our country in peace and prosperity
 by a wisdom and sound policy. Try it

again. I am a party man more from convic-
 tion than inclination. There must be parties
 under every free government, and if there are
 not good parties, there will be bad ones; and
 "when bad men combine," said Burke, "good
 men must associate." Why did the Demo-
 cratic party always govern this country wisely
 and well, and all other parties fail? Because
 our institutions are Democratic, and the prin-
 ciples and policy of the Democratic party are
 consistent with them; just as a piece of mechan-
 ism can only be made to work upon the prin-
 ciple or theory on which it is constructed.—
 That is the philosophy of the historic fact.—
 But the Democratic party could not conduct
 the British government three months without
 signal and disastrous failure. Let the peo-
 ple lay these things to heart. Let them restore
 the Democratic Party to power, if they would
 be rescued at last. And, meantime, if the
 President would be sustained, let him resist
 fearlessly the spirit of Abolitionism; let him
 adhere to the Constitution; and himself obey
 all laws and execute all laws; let him unmuz-
 zle the press and unfetter the tongue, and
 give freedom again to assemblages of the peo-
 ple and to elections; let him liberate his so-called
 prisoners of State, and henceforth arrest no
 man without due process of law; in a word,
 let him look to love, not fear; to law, not terror,
 as the support of his administration; and every
 true patriot in the land will rally round him;
 and then, in God's good time, our eyes shall
 yet be gladdened, dark as the hour now is,
 with the blessed vision of the Constitution
 maintained, the Union restored and the old
 flag of our country known and honored once
 again in every land and upon every sea.—
 (Great and long continued cheering).

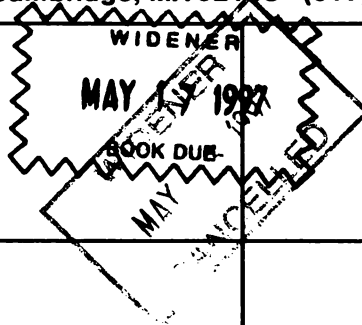
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